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THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION: FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS, ESSENTIAL TASKS

by LE DUAN

II — PROBLEMS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

5th Anniversary of the Indochinese People's Conference

(March 1, 1965 — March 1, 1970)

A LASTING FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION

FIVE years ago, on March 1, 1965, the Indochinese People's Conference, convened on the initiative of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the Sangkum Reastr Nyium, began its work in Phnom Penh. That date has been recorded in the history of the Vietnamese, Khmer and Laotian peoples as a symbol of their indefectible friendship.

The Conference deserved the qualification of "historic" since it was held right at the time when the US aggressors, not resigning themselves to their defeat in the "special war", just made an extremely dangerous step in enlarging the conflict, with their aerial raids on the DRVN—which was soon followed by the massive commitment of US forces to South Viet Nam. For nearly one year, USAF planes had already been taking a direct part in the war against Laos, whereas Cambodia—this haven of peace in the Indochinese peninsula—was under constant threat of border incidents, both on her eastern and western frontiers, staged by the US imperialists and their strawmen in Saigon and Bangkok.

Face to these provocations by the Washington rulers, the Indochinese peoples' representatives affirmed in Phnom Penh their militant solidarity. The General Resolution of the Conference "indignantly rejected" the thesis of a US self-styled "humanitarian mission" which "resulted in Indochina only in destruction, untold sufferings and innumerable losses of human lives". "In reality," the Resolution went on, "US dollars and weapons brought the Indochinese peoples no progress, no happiness, no freedom and no democracy."

The Indochinese peoples thus upheld one of their finest traditions: friendship and mutual support, coordination of efforts and cooperation in their struggle against common enemies: imperialism and colonialism. Their concerted actions brought them victory over the French colonialists. The so-called French Indochina was broken and the three countries struck their respective paths. The new invaders coming from the opposite shores of the Pacific however found the Indochinese peoples closely united in a common and grim resistance.

US neo-colonialist designs and manoeuvres were thwarted by the firm resolve of the Vietnamese, the Khmers and the Laotians to safeguard their independence: our compatriots in the South overthrew the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, whereas the Laotian patriots put up an efficacious resistance to the pro-US rightist elements' encroaching attacks on the free zone, so as to preserve the neutral and independent Laos envisioned in the 1962 Geneva Accords: in Cambodia, the people had foiled the traitorous plots of Son Ngoc Thanh, Dap Chhuon and the Khmers Serei, turned down American aid and determinedly put into practice their slogans: "Cambodia helps herself."

The ties sealed between the three countries during the 1965 conference were made ever closer as the three peoples achieved growing

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"Our Women's Day"

LIKE a flock of sparrows, the children of the infant class, ward 105, Hoan Kiem district, after saying good-bye to their mistress pour out into the street and disperse in all directions with crystalline cries and laughter, each brandishing a small card of colour in his tiny hand. Let us follow one of these smart-looking little boys: he does not loiter about as usual but runs as fast as his short legs can carry him, shouting at the top of his voice, "Hurrah! Hurrah!" Reaching his house, he bangs open the door and dashes at his mother, "Mamma, this is for you!" The mother, smiling and happy, gazes at her child's masterpiece: a red paper cut flower pasted on a blue card, and a neat big inscription "To Mamma, for your March 8th."

On this morning of March 8, the head of the kindergarten has this to say to her pupils, "Very long long ago, the 'aunts' of America on March 8 demonstrated against Americans, the bad ones, the ancestors of those who bombed our Hanoi and who have been for years massacring our aunts and our brothers and sisters in the South..." Limpid eyes attentively follow the gesture of the mistress and open mouths drink in her words. And wonderful stories unfold before them. "... Quite a long time before March 8, 1869, nearly 2,000 years ago, in this same month of March, the 'Trung Sisters', our two national heroines, chased the invaders away..., then nearer to us, your mothers and aunts defeated the wicked French colonialists..., and now in the South, heroines are fighting the brutal American aggressors..." While listening to these stories, the little children see before them the faces of their own mammas, of the "aunts" whom they know. They too, they think, are heroines. "That is mamma's festival! that is the festival of our aunts! let us make them some present..." Then the mistress assists her pupils in making up each a present to their mothers.

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DAY
— MARCH 8 —

★ "Our Women's Day" Page 1

★ — Women in North and South Viet Nam (4 Portraits)

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A self-defence unit of a factory in the capital city drilling in AA manual

ITS GENETIC EFFECTS

CONDEMNATION BY FRENCH SCIENTISTS

CHEMICALS used by the US in the war in South Viet Nam have had very disastrous effects on child-bearing, *GPA* reported.

Documents in this connection released by the South Viet Nam Committee to Denounce US-Puppets' War Crimes include a written complaint by Mr. Ha Son in Ta Pang village in the chief district of Tay Ninh province, whose wife had a miscarriage because of toxic chemicals.

According to him, his wife was affected on October 12 last year, when US aircraft dumped hundreds of barrels of chemical poison on the village. The woman had violent fits of fever and was taken to hospital early in December.

The hospital record stated that the patient had frequent fits of delirium, and after a week, the 7-month-old foetus died.

To determine the bad effects of US chemical poisons, a medical team was sent to Rach Tre, Ben Mo, Cau Duong and Ben Cau hamlets, in Bien Gioi and Ta Pang villages of the province's chief district.

A report by the team, dated February 2, 1970, said several attacks with noxious chemicals had been conducted on the areas since October 1969. The poisons were contained in big metal barrels. They would stick to leaves, or became gaseous, and were drifted about by the wind.

The report listed many miscarriages or molas resulting from chemical sprays in the previous years. There were also ten cases of miscarriage occurring last year:

1 — Tran Thi Son, 25, of Rach Tre hamlet, Bien Gioi village, was poisoned in December 1969. The foetus was one month old.

2 — Tran Thi Ro, 28, of the same locality. She had given birth to three normal children. The fourth child, five months old, was prematurely delivered, the skin of its stomach peeled off.

3 — Luong Thi Lam, 25, of the same locality, was also bearing her fourth child. The miscarriage came after violent abdominal pains and frequent bleedings.

4 — Nguyen Thi De, 45, same locality, mother of eleven children. In her seventh month, she was repeatedly exposed to noxious chemicals. She gave birth to a still-born baby after severe fits of fever and abdominal pains.

5 — Nguyen Thi No, 34, of Ben Mo hamlet, Bien Gioi village. In her first three months, she came under chemical attack three times. The abortion was preceded by severe haemorrhage.

6 — Tran Thi Can, of the same locality, mother of six normal children. The accident came during her second month.

7 — Pham Thi Sang, 32, of the same locality, also in her second month.

8 — Tran Thi Dao, 23, of Ben Cau hamlet, Bien Gioi village, bearing her first baby, had been subject to noxious chemical spraying just a short time before her time.

9 — Tra Thi Suong, 26, of Cau Duong hamlet, Ta Pang village. She was affected three times when she was bearing her fourth child, which was miscarried at its eight month.

10 — Ngo Thi Lien, 42, of the same locality, mother of ten normal children. The accident came during her eight month.

The common symptoms were violent fever, haemorrhage and headache of the mothers and severe damage to the infants' stomach skin.

THE International Information Center to Denounce War Crimes and the "Collectif Intersyndical" on February 21 held at the Orsay College of Sciences near Paris a "Day of study on chemical warfare" by the US imperialists in South Viet Nam. The Study was presided over by famous French scientist Professor Lederer, and attended by over 200 researchers, professors and science correspondents.

Opening the session, Professor Lederer stressed the dangers caused by chemical warfare not only to men but also to nature.

Seven scientists then took the floor. Professor Nguyen Dang Tam, of the French National Scientific Research Centre, dwelt on a number of chemical agents including CS which is being used by the US in South Viet Nam.

Professor Briantais at the same institution spoke about the defoliant agents currently in use, saying that they were used in small doses in the US, but in high concentration in South Viet Nam.

Mme Mousseau who works at the French NSRC, pointed out that it would take 20 years to restore the old environment in areas attacked by US toxic chemicals.

Professor Lavorel, also of the NSRC, with photographic evidence, showed the effects of chemical agents on vegetation, and particularly on rubber trees, in Cambodia, and concluded that in South Viet Nam, where the US is using the same agents in higher concentration, the effects would certainly be worse.

Professor Francis Kahn of the Paris Medical College related what he had seen with his own eyes during his recent visit to South Viet Nam, and said that the CS and the DM (adamsite) which the US is using in South Viet Nam could be lethal to human beings.

Professor Minkowski of the same college analyzed the harmful effects of defoliants like 2D, 4D, 2T, 4T and ST on pregnant women.

Used in such concentration as they are in South Viet Nam, these agents have caused deformity, he said. Professor Lederer quoted well-known English Professor Rose as noting that the 2-4-5-T, which the US is using in South Viet Nam, is highly noxious.

Mr. Vo Hoai Tuan, specialist of the South Viet Nam Committee to Denounce US-Puppets' War Crimes, read out an important report on the US chemical war.

Laurent Schwartz, Vice-President of the International Information Centre to Denounce War Crimes, then called upon scientists to make further efforts to investigate into US chemical warfare in South Viet Nam.

56th Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (Feb. 26, 1970)

The Key to Peace Now Lies in Washington, Says DRVN Negotiator

AT the 56th session of the Paris Conference Mr Nguyen Minh Vy, analyzing on behalf of the DRVN Government delegation President Nixon's message to the US Congress on the state of the world, pointed out that, due to its numerous setbacks during the past years, especially in its war of aggression in Viet Nam, the US had revised its global strategy, but still continued to play the role of an international gendarme. The true nature of the "Nixon doctrine" concerning Asia, he said, is but "using Asians to fight against Asians with American weapons and for US colonialist interests. Another unquestionable indication of this is the Nixon Administration's escalation of the war in Laos. Professor Richard Falk of Princeton University in the US said on February 22, 1970, "No more Viet Nam' seems to be an optimistic outlook when there is another Viet Nam already in Laos."

In connection with the Viet Nam issue, Mr. Nguyen Minh Vy said, three conclusions may be drawn from President Nixon's February 18, 1970 message:

1 — The Nixon administration still persists in its policy of colonialist aggression, protracting the war and seeking a position of strength through the so-called "Vietnamization" policy.

2 — The Nixon administration has only made deceptive and slanderous allegations and offered no practical proposal for a serious settlement of the US war of aggression.

3 — The Nixon administration is still trying to downgrade the Paris Conference with a view to eventually scuttling it.

Consequently, contrary to what Mr. Nixon has said, "the key to peace" now lies in Washington, and nowhere else, Mr. Nguyen Minh Vy concluded.

Hanoi Press Opinion

NIXON'S FOREIGN POLICY MESSAGE

THE whole message on Nixon's foreign policy brings this out: due to their successive setbacks in many parts of the world and especially the heavy failures over recent years in their aggressive war against Viet Nam, the US imperialists have been weakened, their difficulties have been multiplying, and they have had to fall back to the strategic defensive and to modify their counter-revolutionary global strategy, but are still bent on continuing their policy of aggression, interference and war provocation with a view to maintaining their position as the biggest exploiter, the neo-colonialist ringleader and an international gendarme.

Nixon has thrown the strongest light ever on the US scheme to prolong its aggressive war in South Viet Nam through his "Vietnamization" program. He claimed that "Vietnamization is a program to strengthen the ability of the South Vietnamese (puppet) government to defend themselves," that the US will not withdraw "unilaterally," "precipitately" and will not "abandon" the Saigon puppet administration nor "abandon its effort in Viet Nam." "Vietnamization," he added, "has two principal components. The first is the strengthening of the armed forces of the South Vietnamese (puppets). The second component is the extension of the pacification program in South Viet Nam."

Thus, "Vietnamization" is clearly a policy intended to continue the US aggressive war by means of the puppet army plus an important American force with a view to realizing US neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam.

The US President further said, "We pursued two courses of action: negotiations and Vietnamization," and claimed that "Vietnamization is not a substitute for negotiations." In fact, he has used negotiations as a smokescreen for his plot to prolong the war. He is downgrading the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, and sticking to his obdurate colonialist guns, which is preventing the conference from moving forward.

To fool public opinion, reassure his henchmen and satellites, and to shift the burden of the war more and more to the Saigon army and administration, Nixon clamoured that "tangible progress has been made to strengthening the South Vietnamese armed forces (puppet army)" and "the pacification program is succeeding." But he himself could not conceal his anxiety, and asked himself:

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"GREEN CAMPAIGN" IN FULL SWING

THE brainstorm was Uncle Ho's. To turn to account the leisure time at the traditional *Tet* to plant, instead of a bamboo pole in front of one's house to scare away evil spirits, young trees which, with nature's renewal, will not be long in growing vigorous, the idea was simple but it was wonderful to hit on it.

The undertaking which began 10 years ago, destined as some people thought to revive the out-moded customs by rendering them useful, has assumed unsuspected proportions. The "green campaign" is launched again this year under the tokem of "undying gratitude to Uncle Ho" on a nation-wide scale in the DRVN. The First Secretary of the Party, Le Duan, and the Prime Minister, Pham Van Dong, made a point to set the example themselves by doing pick and shovel work on New Year's Day.

It is clear, however, that if it were not for popular enthusiasm, the success of such a movement would be hardly imaginable. If in 10 years, the North Vietnamese people have planted 1,660 million trees on an area totalling 830,000 ha, the credit of it goes to the Workers' Party which, inspired by President Ho Chi Minh, knows how to give the urban people and above all the peasants an interest in the success of this campaign. In fact, of this total, the share of the Forestry Department is only 143,000 ha, and for the rest, 687,000 ha, the peasants are essentially responsible. Over 11,400 agricultural co-ops, or half of the total, are turning afforestation into a roaring trade and the "green campaign" into a guided and planified movement the repercussions of which, in all fields, are immense.

The natural conditions of our country are favourable to the extreme: 100 sunny days and a 2,000-mm rainfall per year. The hot and humid weather makes our 11 million hectares of forests (70% of the territory) a real green house in which proliferate some 12,000 species, of these some 1,000 rank among the rarest. It takes only 4 or 5 years for a hectare of bamboos to give 100 tons of wood, a fantastic average, considering that in Europe a hectare of pine-trees needs 100 years to supply from 2 to 3 tons.

Rains being diluvional in our country, the waters carry every year to the sea 710,000 tons of nitrogenous substances, 250,000 tons of phosphate and 320,000 tons of potash. Thus our soil gets poorer at the annual rate of a million tons of fertilizers or more. It was a matter of extreme urgency to stop this unbearable bleeding which is all the more deadly since the sand invades the coastline and the waters rushdown the slopes of bare hills in cascades. There is only one remedy: a large-scale afforestation which goes beyond the capacities of the administration and which calls for the participation of the entire population. The operation is also rendered necessary by the fact that the colonial authorities, during almost a century, pillaged our forests without bothering about renewing their potential.

Nurseries began multiplying in 1960. Everywhere, responding to Uncle Ho's appeal, young and old alike came forward and set to work. Old peasants, finding a new reason for making themselves useful, displayed great enthusiasm. The work day being reckoned on the basis of the sales of young shoots or natural fruits, the Nhu Quynh co-op in Hai Hung province has been in a position to pay those of its members who have taken part in the job a sum of 4.8 *dong* for a day. At the Dao Phu co-op (Vinh Yen province) which has earned 400,000 *dong* from the sale of forest products, each of its members receives 300 *dong* for his share in the common work.

As the progress of socialist industrialisation tends towards a more rational division of social labour, the participation of the old folks in the "green campaign" for profitable work proportionate to their strength, appears to be a stroke of sagacity of President Ho Chi Minh. The woman peasant bent under her balancing pole and the school-pupil on his way to school who take a breath of fresh air at the shade of the trees lining our routes, think to themselves appreciatively, "It is to Uncle Ho that we owe this coolness!" Number of old men like Ngo Xuan Mec and Nguyen Van Tan have won the title of Labour Hero on account of their zeal in tree-planting. The invalids themselves, like Cao Xuan Nhi who is blind and Tran Van Ngo who has an amputated arm, have become known for real exploits. They are assigned the patient nursery work and the planting of trees along vicinal roads and lanes. They do it with passion, conscious of being the builders of a great work for the triumph of socialism and the heart filled with gratitude towards a regime that has given strength to their arms.

The bulk of the work goes however to the peasants in the prime of life. They form an innumerable army, capable of "removing the mountains and filling up the seas" when it goes into action. At the beginning of the campaign, some people were afraid of unsuccess in the recourse to rural man-power. In fact, never had our peasants thought of planting trees which would be paying only after long years. Their business was to grow cereals or vegetables which bring in yearly or half-yearly harvests. They were too poor to think of a more remote future and the colonialist and feudal authorities did not bother to think of their future for them. Had we not witnessed the furious felling of trees during Land Reform by angry peasants? But the sceptics were wrong. They failed to notice that the launching of the campaign coincided with the setting up of the co-ops. Masters of their land, interested in the production of material wealth, filled with gratitude towards Uncle Ho and the Party which have put an end to their miserable existence, the peasants envisaged the future from a quite different angle. They warmly responded to the presidential appeal. We witness the grandiose spectacle of a peasantry which is surging forward and which works for the greatness of their Fatherland while resolving their immediate worries. The trees already planted in fact increase their income, supply them with timber, green manure and protect their rice from wind blasts.

The Vietnamese countryside is changing. The eternal bamboo hedges which surround the villages make room more and more for rows of casuarina trees and melias whose slender silhouettes tower over the roofs and whose wood is greatly appreciated in the delta. Apart from their usefulness in construction, they render inappreciable services in the fight against erosion. The 1,000-km coastline, from Vinh Linh to Mong Cai, completely covered with casuarina trees, is from now on sheltered from the hurricane. Bare hills are now covered with industrial crops and fruit trees which help check the flow of waters and at the same time supply raw materials for the growing needs of socialist industrialisation. These woodlands prove to be of great help during the US bombing of the DRVN. They served as a natural cover against air raids, materiel for the repair of damaged roads and bridges and contributed an important part to the victory over the aggressors.

IN summing up our achievements in this field, the authorities have not failed to uncover the shortcomings of the drive. At this stage, it needs to be launched again with new technical means. To preserve and exploit thousands of hectares of planted forests calls for constant efforts. The saplings should be chosen with more care so as to enable them to grow vigorously once planted. Man-power should be distributed more judiciously, with the college youth and the urban population doing their bits more frequently. An adequate remuneration, a rational organisation, a better materiel, competent cadres, measures of encouragement seem to be further guarantees of future successes.

An indispensable complement to agricultural production, afforestation must be the concern not only of state services but, as facts have amply shown, relies essentially on the co-ops themselves. As the bare lands millions of hectares of them of lateritic soil inhospitable to vegetation are still considerably vast, it is urgent to speed up the movement.

"Our country will see its landscapes becoming more beautiful day after day, its climate less erratic, its resources in wood more complete. This will contribute considerably to the improvement of the living conditions of our people."

Everyone of us still remembers these words from President Ho Chi Minh with emotion and vows to translate them into deeds.

WHAT THE VIETNAMESE WOMEN STROVE FOR IN 1930

Excerpts from the Saigon weekly *Phu Nu Tan Van* (Women's News) —

"THE number of women eager to get education grows but that of public schools is limited. We are of the opinion that private schools should be set up for them."

Phu Nu Tan Van
No 73 — Oct. 9, 1930

"IN this world, our society is perhaps the only one in which women's rights are the most disregarded. It seems that Heavens has willed that Viet Nam's climes are women's hell."

Phu Nu Tan Van
No 74 Oct. 16, 1930

"THE elections to the Cochinchina Colonial Council are few days away. As we are Vietnamese women, our social regime and family customs and ethics keep us, the weaker sex, in 'household' bondage, formerly away from court affairs and now from the polls."

Phu Nu Tan Van
No 79 — Nov. 27, 1930

"LAST month, in Hanoi, Tuyet Hong, a seventeen-year-old girl who had been married on the 11th, drowned herself into Truc Bach lake on the 17th.

"Such cases have frequently occurred in the North during the last few years...

"To avoid the recurrence of this state of things, the parents and families of such girls should be condemned.

"Only when the parents, masters of the family, refrain from forcing matches, asking for exhorbitant wedding presents, dragooning their daughters and making too much fuss about weddings, will no more such suicides happen..."

Phu Nu Tan Van
No 83 — May 21, 1930

Women's Present Rights and Status in DRVN

EXCERPT FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DRVN
CHAPTER II, ARTICLE 24

"WOMEN in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and domestic life.

"For equal work, women enjoy equal pay with men. The State ensures that women workers and office employees have fully-paid periods of leave before and after childbirth.

"The State protects the mother and child and ensures the development of maternity hospitals, creches and kindergartens.

"The State protects marriage and the family."

PARTICIPATION OF VIETNAMESE WOMEN IN ALL BRANCHES OF ACTIVITIES

	Per cent	
Light industry		
Overall proportion	60.62	
Engineers	25	
Economic managerial cadres	36	
Agriculture		
Engineers	26	
Economic managerial cadres	50	
Percentage of women workers	65	
Co-op managers	1,467	women
Co-op assistant managers	7,983	women
Heads of production teams	18,049	women
Commerce		
Overall proportion	49.5	
Engineers	612	women
Economic managerial cadres	534	women
Transport and communications		
Overall proportion	20	
Engineers	4.5	
Technicians	10.7	
Education		
Overall proportion	32.6	
University professors and lecturers	11.2	
Students	27.5	
School mistresses	44.1	
School girls	46	
Health service		
Overall proportion	48	
Physicians	20.6	
Assistant-physicians	32.5	
Pharmacists	39	
Assistant pharmacists	55.7	
Medical students	60.8	
Pharmaceutical students	87	
PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN STATE AFFAIRS		
Deputies to the National Assembly	14.5	
Provincial administration	35.2	
District administration	45.8	
Rural administration	47.4	
MILITIA AND GUERILLA		
Overall proportion	39.4	
Commanders	31.66	

In 1967 and 1968, 17 militiawomen units downed 22 American planes and 1 unit set afire 3 war vessels.

EMULATION MOVEMENT

28 heroines.
203 emulation fighters.

WOMEN IN NORTH AND SOUTH VIET NAM

LA THI TAM

Militia Deputy Commander
People's Armed Forces Heroine

SHE was born in 1950 in Ha Tinh, one of the provinces the hardest hit by US planes and vessels in the war of destruction in the North. Treading in the steps of her fiancé, an armyman who laid down his life in an engagement with the aggressors, she sought with insistence and got a job in a time-bomb detecting team.

With her field glasses she scanned the sky, standing in a slightly camouflaged small manhole dug on the hilltop at X. cross roads, a fat target for enemy planes. When enemy bombs dropped, she counted them one by one. She located the unexploded ones, and as soon as the planes were off, she rushed downhill and marked each of them with a stick, then returned to her observation post. A while later, her teammates came and unprimed the bombs, and the road was cleared for traffic.

La Thi Tam was once on duty for 116 days running. On some days, she witnessed six or seven air raids during which thousands of bombs were dropped. Though 23 times buried by bomb blasts and exhausted after each day of dangerous observation and deafening explosions, she resolutely clung to the battlefield and located all delayed-action bombs for disposal so as to keep traffic going.

DAO THI HAO

Textile worker
Light industry Labour Heroine

DAO Thi Hao was born into a poor Catholic peasant family in Binh Luc, a fen district in Nam Ha province. Before the August Revolution, driven by destitution and the harsh exploitation by landlords, her family left the native village and settled down at Nam Dinh town where its members worked at the French-owned textile mill at starvation wages.

After the August Revolution, then a grown-up she returned to the mill, but in a completely different position.

Since her apprentice years, Dao Thi Hao has proved full of initiative. She never flinched from the difficulties arising out of the obsolescence of the machinery and backwardness of the technique left by the French. After studying the experiences from brother countries, she managed to handle 9, 12, 15, 18 and then 24 looms at one time. To improve the efficiency of her mates, she volunteered to head deficient teams even with wages one-fourth less than usual. This made a great impression on the male workers. The movement of time and motion study thus gained momentum.

In the war of aggression waged by the American aggressors in the North, the factory ran short of labour owing to enlistment. She urged her girl friends not to ask for more manpower but to increase productivity by introducing innovations and working overtime. She herself attended to 30 looms at one time.

Dao Thi Hao is also an outstanding militia woman. During US air raids on the factory she courageously saved state property, and then buckled down immediately to her work without taking a rest. At that time she shifted from one production team to another to make them all efficient in production and in combat.

In the three-year plan of economic development (1958-1960), Dao Thi Hao

produced 11,000 metres of textile ahead of schedule. In the 5-year plan (1961-1965) she overfulfilled the target by 8,874 metres and reduced waste to 1 per cent, thus lowering by 1.5 the percentage of waste allowed. In production she saved 2,000 *dong* worth of materials.

She has been seven times honoured as emulation fighter and awarded a labour medal, second class.

Mme Nguyen Thi Dinh visiting a PLAF woman unit

NGUYEN THI DINH

President of the South Viet Nam Liberation Women's Union
Deputy-Commander of South Viet Nam PLAF

BORN in 1920 in Ben Tre, a province known for its revolutionary tradition, Nguyen Thi Dinh is the youngest of the ten children of a poor peasant family. In 1930, when the Indochinese Communist Party was founded, the whole country was in the throes of revolution and the hammer-and-sickle flags appeared in Ben Tre. Little Dinh, aged ten, witnessed a tragedy occurring to her family: the arrest of her second brother accused of communist activities by the French colonialists.

At sixteen, she distributed leaflets urging the peasants to rise against cruel landlords and notabilities and served as a messenger for secret organizations.

In 1938, she married a communist leader at Ben Tre who worked with her brother. In 1939, her husband was arrested by the French three days after she had had her first son; in July 1940 she was apprehended and deported to the hilly area near the Cambodian border. At the end of 1943, owing to her heart-disease she was sent back to her village but placed under house arrest. It was at that time that she learnt of the death of her husband at the Poulo Co-dore penal settlement.

This grievous news and the memory of torture whose traces her body still bore only strengthened her resolve to fight.

In 1944, she resumed her activities when the Viet Minh movement swirled up and she got into touch with revolutionary bases again. In 1945, she was one of the organisers of the successful August Revolution in Ben Tre. After the establishment of revolutionary power, she was appointed member of the executive committee of the Ben Tre Women's Union branch, responsible for the setting up a network of women's organization from village to provincial level.

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KAN LICH

Guerilla leader
Heroine of South Viet Nam PLAF

KAN LICH, of the Pako minority nationality, was born in the hilly area west of Thua Thien province (South Viet Nam). At 15 she became by a local custom the concubine of a 40-year-old man. In 1960, with the establishment of the South Viet Nam NFL, as revolutionary practices began penetrating into the remotest corners of the country, the NFL cadres persuaded the old man to release her without repayment of the wedding expenses. Since then, a new life began for her. She took part in guerilla warfare to defend her village.

After many engagements fought in very harsh and dangerous conditions, Kan Lich became a brilliant commander. With her "Hit at close quarters, hit hard, withdraw quickly" slogan she has experienced no defeat all through more than one hundred battles she has fought. Her daring attacks on enemy barracks and airfields have been most devastating. Kan Lich is also the standard bearer in the movement of downing American planes with small weapons launched by Thua Thien guerillas.

"OUR WOMEN'S DAY"

(Continued from page 1)

ON this March 8, in all Hanoi quarters, mothers receive from their children a gift made by these themselves. For a dozen years now, a new tradition has been kept. Celebrations are held for Women's International Day. On this same day, people also commemorate the first victory of Vietnamese women against foreign aggression and particularly their achievements in the last two decades against the Fren h colonialists and the American imperialists. People pay tribute to their important contributions made to production, state management and family affairs. On March 8, 1952, the late President Ho Chi Minh congratulated millions of women on their part in the Resistance, saying, "With their own hands they have embellished our beautiful country." In the anti-US Resistance, w men have been playing a much more important role.

Since the birth of the DRVN, especially since the building of socialism in the North, a new attitude towards women has gradually taken shape in society. Everywhere, in the cities or in the countryside, in talks with any people, they all speak of our women with pride; they will give you the names and tell you about the many records in production or feats of arms performed by the women of the region. When we celebrate our successes, from Dien Bien Phu to the general offensives and widespread uprisings in the South, we never fail to "express all our gratitude towards the mothers of the North and the South who have given birth to and raised generations of heroes of our Fatherland" (Ho Chi Minh). The Vietnamese woman, whom the Revolution has emancipated from the double colonial-feudal yoke, has been continuing with distinction the traditions of heroism and patriotism of her elders; by her own efforts, she has enhanced her new social position. For 40 years, she has been following the combat banner of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh's teaching that "the woman should not wait passively for a government or Party decree to liberate her, but must fight for her own emancipation." She herself has actively put into practice the government decrees and the Party directives and turned them into the everyday reality.

For the Vietnamese, March 8 is both a day for the strengthening of women's international solidarity and "Our Women's Day." From the basket of flowers President Ho Chi Minh used to send every year to Vietnamese mothers of Infant Class C of Hanoi, to the paper flowers the children present to their mothers, these gestures speak up a new social relationship, the esteem, the affection shown by everybody towards the mother, the wife, the fiancée and the young girl who are daily joining the rest of the people in creating the national history and shaping up a better society.

AMERICAN WOMEN VS. VIET NAM WAR

THE protest movement against the Viet Nam war has been developing unceasingly in the United States with an ever growing participation of women.

"DISAGREEMENT" WITH THE WHITE HOUSE

IN the letter "To Our Boys" published by the "Women Strike for Peace" organization in the Nov. 18, 1965 issue of the *New York Times*, the Johnson administration was warned that "American women... disagree with the generals, with the State Department and with the President...," a disagreement caused by the pursuit by the White House of the war of aggression in Viet Nam.

In another letter sent in April 1968 to L.B. Johnson, American women wrote: "We women gave you our votes for peace... you betrayed that mandate with your senseless war. We women gave you our tax dollars for a Great Society... you use billions to incinerate a poor, small country, while lack of fund causes fire of discontent in our own cities. We women gave you our sons, lovingly raised to live, to learn and to create a better world. You use them to kill and you returned 12,260 caskets and 74,818 casualties to heart-broken mothers. "*

What has motivated American women to oppose the Viet Nam war and join the American people's action for peace since its very inception? The letter to Johnson was clear on this point. It is also the quite natural compassion felt by all women in face of the ruins and mournings caused to a nation which is only defending its rights to live and its independence; it is the indignation roused by the crimes committed by the US expeditionary corps in the name of a so-called free world. It is also their obsession to see their husbands and sons turned into "hangmen and killers."

Mrs Willie Watkins, mother of an Afro-American sergeant in the US Marines reported as missing in South Viet Nam, condemned the American authorities for sending American boys to fight in a country thousands of miles away from the United States. She said, "Our war is not there (South Viet Nam — *Ed.*). Especially it is not a war for the black Americans." Mrs. Giunita, whose husband, sergeant Butcher of the First Air Mobile Division, was killed by US artillery in South Viet Nam, said, "This war is useless; it only causes us misfortune and sufferings."

Mrs. Coretta King, wife of the much-mourned-for black leader Luther King and herself leader of the anti-Viet Nam war movement, said in Nov. 1969 at a rally in Saint Louis that the Viet Nam war was "not worth one drop of American blood." American mothers who attended many demonstrations with their babies, carried posters saying "Send back our husbands and sons!", "Don't burn children!", "Withdraw US troops immediately!", "End the Viet Nam war now!"

VARIEGATED FORMS OF STRUGGLE

WHILE in 1961, only one American woman protested with J.F. Kennedy against his armed intervention in South Viet Nam, there are now thousands of American women and mothers opposing this war. They have not only sent letters of protest but took strong actions. On March 20, 1965 they drove in 60 buses round the Pentagon and White House, in protest against the war. The following day, women in Los Angeles held a big demonstration. On Feb. 15, 1967, from every part of the territory, they marched on Washington and held a 1.5 hours' rally. They met McNamara at the Pentagon and shouted: "Stop the war!", "Don't send our children to bomb and destroy!", "Drop Rusk and McNamara, not bombs!", "Shame!" Well-known American women also took part in these demonstrations, such as Mrs Jeannette Rankins, the first congresswoman, Mrs Coretta King, pop singer Joan Baez.

Various forms of action have been resorted to by American women: meeting, march, teach-in, hunger strike, march for peace, distribution of leaflets, information session on anti-war actions, picketing administrative offices, money-raising, collection of signatures, etc... Most of these actions were sponsored by the "Women Strike for Peace" with the participation of many other women's organizations such as the "Women International for Liberty and Peace Federation" (WILPF), the "Women's Liberation Front" (WLF) etc. American women also took part in the activities of other American mass organizations. They set up cafés near military bases and barracks which serve to propagate anti-war ideas among servicemen. They founded many special committees to take up the cudgels on behalf of American soldiers and youths who refuse to service in Viet Nam. These committees also raise money to assist protesters in custody, find employment for those released from jail, and put the detainees into touch with their families. They help American youth to go abroad so as not to be sent to Viet Nam: Over 50,000 young Americans have thus left the US for Canada, Sweden and other countries with the support of American women.

In the protest against US policy, many American women have proved themselves very courageous. Over 1,300 young girls at Massachusetts universities staged a 4-day hunger strike to oppose draft. The same theme of draft-resistance is the content of the songs sung by Joan Baez under the nose of the police; her husband was jailed for draft dodging; sometime later, she and her mother were arrested for their anti-war activities. Mrs Helga Herz, Mrs Hirodo, Mrs Florence de Baumont burnt themselves to death to express their indignation against the US crimes in Viet Nam. Their sacrifices have commanded the respect and admiration of people all over the world.

American women taking part in the November 15, 1969 Moratorium in San Francisco

THE STRUGGLE IS ON

IN the last presidential campaign, Nixon promised to restore peace in Viet Nam and said demagogically, "The forgotten American finally become angry... because they love America and don't like what has been happening to America for the last four years." Nevertheless, once in office, he has been doing just the opposite. The reaction of American women was not late in coming.

Thousands of letters were sent by women from all American states to the new inmate of the White House to demand immediate repatriation of US troops.

Nixon then resorted to threat and repression. But the American women did not let themselves taken in or bullied. On March 26, 1969, 1,500 women on the Atlantic coast of the US marched on Washington, to press for an end to the Viet Nam war. On July 4, 1969, US independence day, a demonstration was held in New York and millions of women rang up the White House urging to withdraw forthwith US servicemen. In August 1969, in Los Angeles, women distributed leaflets saying: "We put the first Americans in the moon, we must take the last Americans out of Viet Nam"... "We come in peace for all mankind" (plaque on the moon). "On the earth we continue to kill in Viet Nam, we continue to produce germ and nuclear weapons that could wipe out mankind." In September 1969, American women demonstrated again in front of the White House, shouting, "Nixon, remember your promises to end the war!" Their action added to that of other social strata in the US led to the spectacular Moratorium days for peace in Viet Nam in last October, November and December during which new organizations were set up, such as that in Philadelphia of "Wives and Parents of Men in Viet Nam or Scheduled to Go."

Their battle is going on in this years of 1970, the tenth year since the first GI was killed in South Viet Nam and the first letter was sent by a woman insisting that the US rulers put an end to their criminal adventure in Viet Nam.

* *Figures of GI casualties in the Viet Nam war released by the Pentagon up to that date.*

NEW AND EXTREMELY ADVENTUROUS U.S. ESCALATION

Excerpts from the Declaration of the Central Committee of the Laotian Patriotic Front on the bombing of the Xieng Khoang-Plain of Jars area (in the liberated zone controlled by the patriotic orces) by U.S. B-52 strategic aircraft.

FOR more than six months now, in the framework of Operation "Kou Kiet", the US imperialists have thrown the Vientiane mercenary army, in particular the "special forces" based in Sam Thong, Long Cheng, Paksane, Vang Vieng, etc, and thousands of Thailand troops supported by hundreds of aircraft of all types into successive and ferocious encroaching attacks against the Xieng Khoang-Plain of Jars area in the liberated zone controlled by the Laotian Patriotic Forces. In particular, since February 17, 1970, in the face of their repeated failures, the US imperialists have been unleashing B-52 strategic aircraft on the said region. On February 17, 1970, at 22.00 hours and on the following day, at 3.00 hours, 27 B-52 sorties made carpet-bombings on a 10-kilometre long stretch of land in the Ban Sone-Khang Khay area, perpetrating new and atrocious crimes against the Laotian population.

The decision of the Nixon administration to bomb the Xieng Khoang-Plain of Jars area for the first time with B-52 aircraft constituted a fresh and extremely adventurous "escalation" and a grave act of war that further aggravated the situation in Laos, seriously threatening peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

The above-said move bore witness to the cynical aggression by the US imperialists against Laos which lies at the origin of the strained situation in this country; it by itself gave the lie to the US imperialists and their lackeys' oft-repeated "reconnaissance-flights" and "aggression by North Viet Nam" allegations. It also spelled out the passive position and the bewilderment of the US imperialists and their lackeys. Driven into a corner, they have stopped at no manoeuvre, however atrocious, to get out of their predicament.

The US imperialists' bombing over many years past of the territory of Laos, in particular their B.52 raids on the civilian population, threw light on the odious role of Prince Phouma and the reactionary rulers in Vientiane who have been helping the Yankees to step up their war of aggression against Laos, causing untold suffering and mourning to our people.

The Central Committee of the Laotian Patriotic Front severely condemns these extremely adventurous military moves of the Nixon administration and the reactionary authorities in Vientiane.

NIXON'S FOREIGN POLICY MESSAGE

(*Continued from page 2*)

"A major problem we must face is whether the Vietnamization program will succeed... What is the enemy's capability to mount sustained operations? Could they succeed in undoing our gains?... Could they simply wait out US withdrawals and then, through reinvigorated efforts, seize the initiative again and defeat the South Vietnamese forces?... What is the actual extent of improvement on allied capabilities? Are the Vietnamese (puppets) developing the leadership, logistics capabilities, tactical know-how, and sensitivity to the needs of their own people which are indispensable to continued success?"

In short, Nixon conceded that the "Vietnamization of the war program" was facing not very bright prospects. Uncertain about the feasibility of this program, he resorted to blackmail, threatening to expand the war. But this can cow nobody, instead only spells out the weak and passive position of the aggressors. The US has failed to intimidate the Vietnamese people with its massive dispatch of troops to South Viet Nam and savage war of destruction against the North. How can it hope to do so now that its failure has become evident?

Quan Doi Nhan Dan (*People's Army*) Feb. 22, 1970

NGUYEN THI DINH

(*Continued from page 5*)

During the 1945-1954 resistance war against the French colonialists she took charge of the women's movement and other important tasks in Ben Tre province. Thanks to her intelligence and courage and the protection of the people she carried through revolutionary activities behind the enemy's lines unmolested. At that time she married another revolutionary.

In the resistance war against the American imperialists, together with other leaders in the province, she has overcome untold difficulties and hardships in leading the inhabitants in political and armed struggle to ease the enemy's grip and step up the revolutionary movement in the province. Her great achievement was to set up and develop the role of the "long-haired army" (Army of women) which was the terror of the enemy. Alarmed by her activities and influence among the masses, in 1960 a prize of 10,000 piastres was set by the enemy on her head.

In 1960 she was one of the promoters of the Liberation National Front in Ben Tre province and took charge of military affairs. In 1961, she was appointed President of the South Viet Nam Liberation Women's Union, member of the Presidium of the CC of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and Deputy-Commander of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces, posts she is still holding at present.

In 1968, she was awarded a prize by the World Peace Council.

A LASTING FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION

(*Continued from page 1*)

successes in their fight against US imperialism.

The DRVN established diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia and proceeded to fruitful economic and cultural exchanges with her; Cambodia was among the first countries to recognize the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Repuolic of South Viet Nam and to accept the setting up in their capital of an embassy of the RSVN; President Huynh Tan Phat was received in Phnom Penh with much cordiality.

Friendly relations between the two parts of Viet Nam on the one hand and the patriotic forces in Laos on the other found a vivid expression in numerous events, especially in the warmest reception given recently to the PRG Delegation headed by Mr. Tran Buu Kiem when it visited the free zone of Laos.

The friendship of the Khmer and Laotian peoples for the Vietnamese people was most movingly expressed on the occasion of President Ho Chi Minh's passing away. Led respectively by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Prince Souphanouvong, two important delegations from Cambodia and Laos came to Hanoi to attend the national funeral of our leader and give us the assurances of full support from the two brotherly peoples for our resistance to US aggression.

The history of the last decades provides ample proofs of the possibility of a sincere and lasting friendship and cooperation between three nations having different political and social systems. Sharing a common source of livelihood, the waters of the same mighty river — the Mekong —, the three Indochinese peoples have been waging a long and arduous struggle against common foes. The presence of American GIs and planes in South Viet Nam and Thailand is hanging a deadly menace over the three countries. So long as this presence has not been removed, no Vietnamese, Khmer or Laotian can sleep in peace.

In the future the friendship and mutual support of the three Indochinese countries can only be strengthened; their economic, scientific and cultural cooperation will be beneficial to each one of them.

The Vietnamese people will continue to adhere to the principles of equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs and set up with Cambodia and Laos brotherly relations and give these relations a positive content of cooperation, mutual assistance and support in the safeguarding of independence and in the building of a peaceful and happy future.

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A CENTURY OF NATIONAL STRUGGLES

(1847-1945)

INTRODUCTION

THIS year, the Vietnamese people are commemorating the 40th founding anniversary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the 25th anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The significance of these two events — the founding of the Workers' Party (Communist Party) in 1930, and that of the DRVN in 1945 — can be grasped only in the light of the history of the Vietnamese national movement. Since the first armed attack on Viet Nam by the French colonialists in 1847, the Vietnamese people, heir to a long tradition of patriotic resistance, have not ceased fighting against invaders and occupiers. However, independence could be reconquered only with the Party of the working class, a Marxist-Leninist Party, taking over the national movement.

To bring out the significance of this primordial fact we are giving in this issue a brief outline of the history of the Vietnamese national movement since the beginning of the colonialist aggression. Only by placing the foundation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and that of the DRVN in this historical context can one understand them.

This brief history of the national movement has no ambition to be a comprehensive one. It contents itself with being a simple record of essential facts, indispensable to the comprehension of the contemporary history of Viet Nam.

PLAF SUCCESSES
IN 7-DAY PERIOD ENDING FEB. 17

MEKONG DELTA

— Ambush of enemy troops in action followed by interception of reinforcements in **Giong Trom** district, Ben Tre province, on Feb. 14. CP of an encampment of companies, a company of regional troops and a platoon of field police destroyed, 3 other companies of regional troops decimated. Many adverse **casualties.**

— In 2 nights in a row (Feb. 13 and 14) attacks on enemy base camps, fire bases and road conveys in **Hau My - Cai Nua** area and on **Highway N. 4** (My Tho province). Enemy losses: 140 men and 5 105-mm howitzers and 14 military vehicles put out of action.

— In Rach Gia province, an enemy "sweep" in **Ha Tien** district foiled, 200 puppets and 23 armoured cars knocked out and 3 choppers downed on Feb. 14, 16 and 17. Ambush on **Tra Khop** river: 60 puppets casualties and 5 enemy vessels sunk on Feb. 12.

— Assault on puppet ranger camp at **Quach Lam**, Chau Doc province: 70 adverse troops disabled, a big haul of weapons seized.

NORTHERN SAIGON FRONT

— Tua Hai ranger training camp, 3 km north of Tay Ninh under fire on Feb. 14. 150 enemy casualties, an ammo dump and 30 military installations (blockhouses, casemates, barracks) destroyed. Engagement with raiding US troops in **Chau E** (21 km northnortheast of Tay Ninh) on Feb. 15: a company and a platoon of the First Air Cavalry written off, 13 armoured cars rendered unserviceable and 30 weapons including 3 machineguns captured.

— Onset on puppet ranger camp at Hill 153 near **Bu Dop**: 90 adverse casualties.

HUE FRONT

— Total destruction of a mixed US-puppet encampment at Li Hi (26 km southeast of Hue); 2 battalion CP, an infantry company and an artillery company of the US forces and another infantry company and an armoured company of the puppet forces plus several enemy support units wiped out, 6 cannons, 2 radars, 4 tanks and 50 casemates destroyed, many enemy troops put out of action (on the night of Feb. 11).

On the look-out for American tanks

Scanning the Saigon Press

Drastic and Outrageous Financial Measures

THE year of the Dog began on Feb. 5, 1970. According to the Saigon paper *Hoa Binh*, Feb. 7 issue, Pham Kim Ngoc, Minister of Economy of the Saigon regime, boastfully said in a New Year interview, "The increases in austerity taxes have brought in from 40 to 50 billion piastres for the treasury but the budget deficit still runs at more than 30 billion." He added, "As a follow-up to the austerity taxes, the government has sent Congress many bills on tax reform and on new taxes." And he made it clear, "The New Year bomb shell that hits the people's purse is that in 1970, the government will raise the price of rice and it may double." As rice is the stapple food of the Vietnamese, by increasing its price the Thieu-Ky-Khiem trio strikes at the living standard of every South Vietnamese citizen, especially the city poor, employés — dublic and private — and even soldiers of the puppet army. The same paper *Hoa Binh* had this to complain on Feb. 13: "With the approach of *Tet*, the price of rice in Central Viet Nam went up to 2,200 piastres a bag or 4,400 piastres per 100 kilos (37 dollars at the official rate of exchange — *Ed.*). That was not cheap at all. The present salary of a soldier can hardly buy 100 kilos of rice. This is an odious truth... Can this price-rise policy acceptable for the people?"

On Feb. 11, Tran Nguon Phieu, Minister for Social Welfare of the puppet administration, announced a new plan for 1970: The Government will establish a system of recreation centres with gambling casinos and dance halls." Commenting on this fund-raising measure aimed at filling the gap in the budget, *Hoa Binh* wrote on Feb.16, "With this plan, this year 300,000 of our women would openly walk the streets. Our forbears used to say that the prostitutes sold their bodies to feed their mouths. Nowadays we can sell the bodies of prostitutes to feed the whole nation. Because, there are in our society an estimated 300,000 whores. If each of them earns 50 dollars a month the monthly income of 300,000 will be 15 million dollars. The annual income is about 180 million dollars. The state will no longer worry about shortage of foreign exchange! It will become self-supporting thanks to prostitution. The issue is so important that Social Welfare Minister Tran Nguon Phieu believes the establishment of gambling houses and brothels should be made a state policy..."

In an effort to cope with the budget deficit too, the Saigon puppet administration put on Feb.16 into circulation 3 new kinds of banknotes, the 100, 200 and 500-piastre notes. Everybody knows that this move can but give a push to inflation with all its terrible consequences. The official rate for the piastre is 18 to one US dollar, but in reality the rate is 370 to 1 (*AFP*, Jan. 15, 1969). The Saigon paper *Su That*, on Feb.15 wrote, "Prices keep spiralling, the price of gold is up, the blackmarket rate for the US dollar jumps suddenly and pressures on the devaluation of the piastre are heavier and heavier."

And following is the latest measure taken by the Saigon puppet administration to boost the budget revenue. On Feb.20, Pham Kim Ngoc signed an ordinance raising the prices of some items of goods including imported printing paper by 100%. Next day all Saigon papers were against this decision. *Saigon Moi* pointed out that "the government wants to kill the press." "It is hard to believe but true," *Cap Tien* commented. "The government increases the price of printing paper. In a sense, this amounts to closing down newspapers." The puppet administration took this step in a bid to send the price of newspapers up. This makes selling of newspapers difficult. A stone that kills two birds!

The Thieu-Ky-Khiem junta is sowing the wind. Sure, it will reap the whirlwind.

The Fate of Puppet War Invalids

THE paper *Cong Luan* (Public Opinion) gave on Dec. 29 this appalling description:

"We accompanied the delegation of the Central Committee of the War Invalids' Association to Nha Trang to attend the election of the Committee of its provincial chapter. Together with it, we visited the wounded of the 2nd and 3rd degree, along the railway, opposite the 2nd Quarter-Master General's Department.

"The slums were made of assembled tiny pieces of cardboard, some only several decimetres long. Our invalids had collected cardboard or thick paper from dustbins to build shelters for their families. Above the shanties was the railway, and beneath them, ponds with stagnant and troubled water. They did not attain man's height and lack light. On top, huge earth lumps, rocks, or sand bags were put to prevent the wind from carrying off the roofs. In the rainy season or during the rising tide, water floods the dwellings, coming either from the ponds or from the roofs.

"The invalids and their families have to huddle together waiting for daybreak. They draw water from the ponds for domestic use; they urinate, too, in the water of the ponds! It is reported that many a time, when the water raises the slums the tenants must seek refuge on the ballast of the railway track.

"Thousands of invalids are living miserably with their family in shanties, in thickets, at market places, next to heaps of garbage, while awaiting to be rehabilitated or cut down by Death. They live in frightening conditions, crowded in ili-lit shanties. Most lamentable are the children, half-starved, ill-dressed, rickety. Meanwhile, not far away, in the pleasure cities, are teeming Turkish baths, prostitutes, taxi-dancers, driving overtly a roaring trade."

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION: FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS, ESSENTIAL TASKS

by **LE DUAN**
First Secretary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party

II. PROBLEMS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

I. NATIONAL PROBLEM AND AGRARIAN QUESTION

AS soon as it was founded, the ICP made it clear that the Vietnamese revolution was first a national and democratic one, and that it was to advance directly to the socialist revolution, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. It was in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle that important problems of revolutionary strategy presented themselves, especially that of the interaction between two tasks: the national, i.e. anti-imperialist, and the democratic, i.e. anti-feudal.

"(...) Our country is an agricultural one, with 90% of its population made up of peasants. Imperialism relies on feudalism to exploit our people, essentially the peasantry. That is why to liberate the nation means first and foremost to liberate the peasants. Democracy here means first and foremost and in the main democracy for the peasants...

"To free the peasants from the yoke imposed on them by the feudal landlords, to bring them land, such is the essence of the democratic revolution; at the same time to do so is to start from the exigencies of the national liberation cause, for 'the national problem of colonized peoples is in essence a peasant problem.'

"Holding firm and aloft the national and democratic banner with the two strategic slogans 'National Independence' and 'Land to the Tillers', our Party has succeeded in making large masses of the peasantry follow the lead of the working class, mobilizing other popular strata and taking them along with the workers and peasants to the battlefront of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. In the course of the revolutionary process, basing ourselves on an analysis of concrete class relations and the possibility of dividing the ranks of our imperialist and feudal foes, we have embodied those strategic tasks in concrete objectives suited to each period in order to concentrate the fire of the revolution on the most dangerous enemy of the moment. However, in all periods, the concrete objectives and political tasks set forth by the Party have in the main comprised both the national and the democratic content and been closely linked with both tasks, the anti-imperialist and the anti-feudal."

As early as 1945, following the seizure of power, the Party took a series of agrarian measures; in 1953, it launched a radical land reform, and the ensuing mobilization of peasant energies largely contributed to the military victory of the anti-colonial resistance, especially to the Dien Bien Phu victory.

2. NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

SINCE 1954, the situation has become most complex: What, was to be done when the northern half of the country had been entirely liberated but when the South had still to resist American penetration? Should the North have waited for the liberation of the South before advancing to socialism? The answer was: to proceed immediately to socialism while completing the national democratic revolution in the South.

"(...) This is strict implementation of the first programme of the Party, in conformity with the inevitable trend of the national liberation movement in our times, when national democratic revolutions proceed to socialist revolutions, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. This is the only way which guarantees the complete victory of the cause of national liberation, genuine national independence, and the uninterrupted progress and prosperity of the peoples hitherto kept in back-wardness by imperialist and colonialist rule. The socialist revolution which has been going on for the last ten years and more has reaped only initial results as yet. But these results are none the less extremely important: they have changed and are changing the face of the North fundamentally and in all fields: political, economic, social and cultural, turning the North into an ever stronger base for the completion of the national democratic revolution in the whole country. By building socialism, completely defeating the war of destruction waged by the American imperialists, fulfilling the duties of the great rear area to the great fighting front in the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, our people are supplying a vivid illustration of the greatest truth of our times, namely that in the present era national independence, democracy, and socialism are inseparable."

3. NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND INTERNATIONALISM

THE ICP was the first Vietnamese political organization to put the national revolution in the context of the world revolution, to incorporate the national movement in the world revolution.

"(...) Developing Marxism in the era of imperialism, when capitalism not only weighed down heavily on the proletariat and the toiling people in the 'mother countries' but also imposed servitude on the colonial peoples, Lenin issued this call: 'Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!' The strength of this strategic watchword lies in the fact that it points out that in the present era, the revolutionary effort to overthrow capitalism and take mankind to socialism can only win victory by combining into one single movement the struggle put up by the proletariat in all countries and that waged against imperialism by the colonial peoples; that the fight for national liberation, independence and democracy carried out by the people of colonial and dependent countries can achieve all-out success only by becoming part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution, by following the necessary trend of development of human society in the present era: advance towards socialism. As President Ho Chi Minh asserted: "Only socialism, only communism can free the oppressed peoples and the toiling people of the world from servitude."

The problems of national independence and democracy concern not only the colonial peoples but also the working class, workers' parties, and people of developed capitalist countries.

"(...) Indeed, at present the monopoly capitalists holding sway in those countries have sold out and are selling out national sovereignty, bit by bit, to the American imperialists and the international capitalist organizations, to the supranational aggressive military blocs, while intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the working class and labouring people in the country, curtailing and even, in many instances, trampling upon all democratic liberties, be they simply bourgeois democratic liberties. For this reason, the Communists must now take hold of the national democratic banner and march forward, as Stalin pointed out."

4. WORKING CLASS AND PEASANTRY

ONE of the most important contributions of Marxism-Leninism to the national movement is

Passages in italics and sub-heads are ours — *Ed.*

the light it casts on the respective roles of the various social classes, thus making it possible to work out an appropriate policy vis-à-vis each class and each social category.

"(...) The first crucial problem of the revolution is to correctly and fully assert the leading role of the working class. Because of its economic, political and historical position, the working class has become the exponent of the progress of human society in our epoch, the only class capable of elevating the toiling people to the mastery of their own destiny. Although young in age and small in number, the Vietnamese proletariat is a very resolutely revolutionary class. Born before the Vietnamese national bourgeoisie, it had hardly grown up when it received the revolutionary light of Marxism-Leninism, and quickly became a conscious political force, unified throughout the three regions — North, Centre, and South — of the country. Sprung from the pauperized toiling peasantry, its close ties with the latter created favourable conditions for the setting up of a firm worker-peasant alliance. Furthermore, the Vietnamese working class entered the political arena at a time when the great Russian October Revolution had scored a triumph which reverberated throughout the five continents, and when in neighbouring China, following the treason of the bourgeoisie, the Chinese proletariat had stepped forward and seized the national democratic banner.

"(...) The reason why our Party has followed a correct political line throughout all periods and has led the Vietnamese revolution from one success to another is because it has held fast to the stand of the working class, and has a firm grasp of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class.

"Besides the working class, the leading class, the peasantry is the most active opponent of imperialism and feudalism. The peasants make up the majority of our population and the greatest force in the national democratic revolution. Therefore to make the peasants follow the lead of the working class, develop their great revolutionary potential to the utmost, and build the **worker-peasant alliance** is the basic condition ensuring the triumph of the revolution.

"Being a strategic principle of Marxism-Leninism, a universal necessity for all revolutions led by the proletariat, the problem of worker-peasant alliance assumes particular importance in such a country as ours. Under the colonial and semi-feudal regime, the proletariat of our country, though small in size, evinced a strength which far outstripped its numbers, for, in addition to pursuing a correct revolutionary course, it had won over a natural ally, an extremely reliable one, who was possessed of powerful forces and high revolutionary spirit: the peasantry. Immediately after coming into existence, our Party was able to seize the leadership of the revolution, for it had succeeded in setting up a worker-peasant alliance at an early date. The reason why the political prestige of our Party and its leadership of the revolution are absolute and unquestionable is because they spring from the invincible strength of the Party's grass-roots masses, the worker-peasant masses.

"In the present era, a movement for social emancipation, for national liberation, can only be truly revolutionary when its core is constituted by the workers and peasants, when it develops with the strength of the worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class."

That is the foundation on which have been created the National Front, the people's democratic State, the revolutionary army. Since 1945, the Vietnamese State, while reflecting a broad national union, is primarily a worker-peasant State, which has made possible a direct passage to socialism without a new political revolution. The document furthermore points out that the peasants cannot provide leadership to the revolution and that, by themselves, they cannot even accomplish the land reform. Thanks to the worker-peasant alliance, all difficulties can be overcome, all enemies can be defeated.

5. THE OTHER CLASSES AND THE NATIONAL FRONT

On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, the Party has brought together all patriotic and progressive forces, the various ethnic groups and religious communities, in a **National United Front** *spearheaded against imperialism.*

"(...) The triumph of the revolution cannot be dissociated from the correct Front policy pursued by our Party.

"Experience has shown that in carrying out the Front policy one must guard against and oppose both the rightist and "leftist" deviations.

"The Front is a unity of opposites which includes various classes allied with each other on the basis of a certain common programme of struggle. That is why one cannot conceive of a classless Front. A principled line requires that one should view and solve all problems related to the Front policy from a class stand. There are classes with essentially similar interests; there also exist classes whose interests are linked together only to a certain extent. Each class, for its own interests and for the common interest, allies itself with other classes within the Front. Moreover, the common interest itself is viewed by each class according to its own stand. For the proletariat, on account of its historical position, its class interests and the common national interest are completely at one. But for the other classes, their respective interests and the common national interest converge in some respects, but diverge in others. For this reason, while preserving unity and in order to strengthen it, there must necessarily be a struggle between the viewpoints of the various members of the Front, who represent different classes. One-sided unity, without struggle, in practice leads to the disruption of unity and the liquidation of the Front. If one knows how to conduct a principled struggle, i.e. one that is based on the common political programme and aimed at implementing it, far from breaking up unity and weakening the Front, one will have done the only thing that could strengthen unity and consolidate the Front.

"Being the leader of the revolution, with a political line which fully represents the common interest of the nation, our Party has naturally been recognized as the leader of the Front. The interest of the revolution and that of the nation require that one should constantly strengthen and consolidate the leading role of the Party within the Front, firmly maintain the Party's independent political line and organization, and oppose all tendencies to downgrade the Party's role and to dissolve the Party in the Front."

Within the National Front, the other social classes have their own respective roles. The petty bourgeoisie, especially the students and intellectuals, are fervently revolutionary.

"(...) The various strata of intellectuals and students are ardently patriotic, eager to safeguard the nation's fine cultural tradition and to restore the noble spiritual values of the Vietnamese man, trampled underfoot by the imperialists and feudalists. They have proved to be history-conscious and sensitive to the trend of events. Awakened and stimulated by the seething revolutionary upsurge of the workers and peasants, they have joined the revolutionary ranks in growing numbers and play an important role in the people's movement, especially in the towns and cities."

The national bourgeoisie, bullied by imperialism, is also patriotic in some respects. The evils of capitalism having been laid bare and socialism having revealed itself as the necessary end-result of historical evolution, elements of the national bourgeoisie have little by little joined the national and revolutionary movement.

"(...) Relying on the basic forces, the workers and peasants, and in each period making an accurate appraisal of the changes happening in class relations, determining the most dangerous foe to be overthrown, our Party has applied extremely flexible tactics, unceasingly broadened the National United Front and drawn ever more new forces into the Front's organizations or into various forms of joint action for an immediate concrete objective of the revolution.

"Parallel to carrying out the Front policy, our Party has never failed **to exploit to the utmost the contradictions within the ranks of the enemy, divide and isolate them to the highest degree possible** in order to weaken their position and influence, increase the strength of the revolution to the maximum, and create favourable conditions for its advance."

The Communists should neither passively wait for those contradictions to break out by themselves nor nurture too many illusions. However, they should know that internal contradictions within the enemy camp are exacerbated as the revolutionary movement gains strength, and that to exploit them to the utmost is an imperative rule.

"(...) Before the August Revolution, our Party took extremely timely advantage of the mortal conflict between the Japanese and the French in order to give a great impulse to the anti-Japanese resistance for national salvation, and following the Japanese surrender, led the people to seize the opportunity for a victorious general insurrection. After the August Revolution, when the revolutionary power was still in its infancy, when we were facing serious dangers created by internal and external foes, when the situation could be likened to "a thousand-pound weight hanging by a hair", our Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, thanks to an extremely clear-sighted political line, at the same time rigorous in principle and flexible in tactics, tided the country over countless seemingly insuperable difficulties. We would at one time reach a temporary compromise with Chiang Kai-shek in order to get our hands free to cope with the French colonialists, at another time do the same with the French in order to drive out the Chiang Kai-shek troops and wipe out the reactionaries, their agents, thus gaining time to consolidate our forces and prepare for a nation-wide resistance to French colonialist aggression, which the Party knew was inevitable. Those extremely shrewed moves have been recorded in the history of the revolution in our country as magnificent examples of Leninist tactics concerning the exploitation of contradictions within the enemy's ranks and the granting of concessions while holding firm to principles.

In our next issue:

Principles and methods of revolutionary action